1: Orans E-5 (1957-1958) 1965
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668 "Jamshedpur has further contributed to the new political movement and the new solidarity by the characteristics of its own rank path. The first of these characteristics, even prior to the present period, must have mitigated the centrifugal tendencies present and may even have affected the decision of the
668 Santal elite to support the Jharkhand movement. I refer to the
554 fact that rank in Jamshedpur is so largely dependent on wealth translated into appropriate material possessions, and so little dependent on the attributes of high Hinduism or even caste membership. One may at every turn observe the subservience of devout Brahmans to those of lower caste and even to "Harijans" who hold higher positions in the company hierarchy. Prior to the Jharkhand movement the observation of rank in Jamshedpur could only lessen the tendency toward emulating high Hinduism. The aspiring Santal who was well acquainted with Jamshedpur might adopt Western clothing, an automobile or motorcycle, and a *pukha* house (one with modern facilities) rather than vegetarianism, teetotalism, and a sacred thread; he might observe that the Parsees, Europeans, and Westernized Hindus did not pay a price in rank for the lack of high Hindu attributes. But in the context of a market economy and without a political rank path to draw the Santal and other tribals together, these observations suggest individual mobility rather than a socio-cultural movement aimed at improving the rank of tribals as a group; hence without a political rank path this characteristic did not of itself produce a new solidarity. Nevertheless it seems probable that the Jamshedpur experience made the maintenance of tribal solidarity appear consistent with the attainment of superior rank.

668 A second characteristic of Jamshedpur which has favored the
• 467 Jharkhand movement and therefore tribal and Santal solidarity

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668 is the extreme importance of political power in determining
• 467 the outcome of labor disputes. The Santal and other tribals were strong supporters of the Tata Workers Union as long as it remained politically unaffiliated. After independence it became a Congress union, and since Congress is the major opponent of the Jharkhand party, a threat to the Jharkhand movement. At the time of my field work the Jharkhand party began the formation of a "workers association" to counter this threat. There is considerable latent support for this development because most tribals are opposed to the present leadership of the Tata Workers Union, which they regard as inattentive to their needs and biased against them. They accuse various leaders of the union of giving special preference to members of their own caste or people from their own province. Whether due to Jharkhand efforts or not, a number of special considerations for "aboriginals" have improved the economic prospects
[464] for tribals in Jamshedpur. The state government has exerted pressure on TISCO and other firms to hire "aboriginals" and to provide evidence that they are being trained for and given jobs of high pay and status. To this end TISCO is made to furnish periodic reports indicating the number of "aboriginals"
[452] employed and their positions in the company hierarchy. With TISCO's help, local tribal leaders have established an "*Ādibāsī*" Cooperative Society, a savings and loan association to which many tribals have entrusted their savings. Thus, with the help of political organization, the special status of "aboriginals" has been made to confer special benefits—some of which might possibly have been forthcoming anyway, since the welfare state ideology is dominant in India, and is backed by official tradition of special benefits to "scheduled" tribes and castes. In any case, the general context within which the Jharkhand worked

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668 was at least to this extent favorable to the realization of its
• 467 aims.

While the Santal industrial workers are substantially behind Jharkhand, the social schism between the elite and ordinary Santal, which is generally reflected as leaders and followers in the Jharkhand movement, is a source of disintegrative tendencies. Despite general support there are complaints that
[661] the leaders are only out to further their own ends. These sentiments are reinforced by a number of well-known cases in which leaders have pocketed funds collected for the party. There is also some tendency, particularly among the city Santal, to support third parties which are militantly pro-worker, especially when the local Jharkhand candidate has little chance of winning; this is most likely to be the case where "aboriginals" are in a minority, as in the city.

668 The schism between elite and non-elite is a continuing problem for the political movement, and the success which that movement has had in entering the promising new political rank path must have accentuated the ever-present conflict between emulation of the Hindus and tribal solidarity: while clearly calling for renewed solidarity to attain political success, the movement equally demanded emulation and abandonment of distinctive characteristics to validate the status which increased political power promised. This emulation-solidarity conflict was particularly serious among the Santal elite. About them were living examples indicating that emulation of Hindus led eventually to social absorption. Furthermore they were aware of the increasing cultural and consequent social schism between themselves and the common Santal. Rank improvement by passing into the Hindu fold still constituted an alluring prospect. Furthermore, Hindu values and attitudes had been